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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The Disarmament Question
Editorial

Rationalisation in Poland
Stefansky

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The Disarmament Question

THE proposal made in the name of the Soviet delegation by comrade Litvinov at the so-called "Preparatory Commission on Disarmament" caused the greatest confusion in the bourgeois and compromisers' camps.

At the moment when the Soviet delegation first took part in the Preparatory Commission, the situation in the League of Nations in regard to disarmament was that after long labours the Commission had finally worked out a "draft for an international convention on disarmament." In order to get an idea of the kind of "disarmament" that is in question in this draft it is sufficient to compare what it leaves unsettled, upon what the Commission were not and upon what they were able to reach agreement. The question of the extent to which armaments should be reduced was left undecided. There is not even an approximate figure on this item in the draft. Further, according to the author of the draft the extent of disarmament had to be adjusted in dependence on the degree of security of each country, on its international obligations, on its geographical position and on its "other peculiarities."

Nor was any agreement whatever reached on any of these matters, and the issue remained an open one. But on one question complete agreement was reached: "The regulations of this present convention should not hinder the increase of land, sea, and air armaments beyond the limits of the figures established on the part of any high contracting party: (1) In the event of the outbreak of war; (2) in the event of that country being threatened with insurrection; and (3) if that increase is made with the agreement of the League of Nations." From the foregoing it is quite clear that even if agreement had been reached on all disputed points the "draft for an international convention" hatched by the League of Nations would in the most favourable circumstances have been not a disarmament project for the reduction of war, but a project agreed upon by the Great Powers for cheaper methods of carrying on war and suppressing revolution.

IT is precisely for this reason that the results of the League of Nations' diplomatic labours had need of a fig leaf, and that fig leaf was provided for them by the Second International. The Commission on disarmament set up by the Second International, also after a long two-year travail, drew up a report in Zurich, which was unanimously approved by the Executive Committee of the Second International, and which will be brought up for acceptance at the forthcoming Congress of the Second International at Brussels.

This report is a classic example of pacifist hypocrisy. Recognising that at the present time complete disarmament is not yet achievable, it declares that none the less "even in the present-day political conditions there are forces striving for the limitation of armaments." The report discovers these forces in the midst of the ruling class, part of which is stimulated to a limitation of armaments by its fear of revolution, by the terrifying height of expenditure on armaments, and by the realisation that it will not be possible to keep the defeated countries in a state of disarmament if the victorious countries do not learn to disarm themselves. Of course, the authors of this report know very well that it is fear of revolution which stimulates the bourgeoisie to perfect and increase their armaments, that it is the fear of a revival of German imperialism which has stimulated France to accept Boncour's Bill for the militarisation of the whole country. They also know that the dominating heavy industries of capitalist countries are not afraid of an increase of expenditure on armaments, since that is their finest means of accumulating profits— but the social-imperialists exist in order to convince the masses of things in which they themselves do not believe.

BUT what concrete measures do the authors of this report propose for the reduction of armaments and the avoidance of war? First, an all-in agreement on an arbitration court, the plans for which are to be drawn up by the League of Nations and proposed to all

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States; secondly, the allowing of equal freedom to all nations in the selection of their military system—imperialist equality; and, thirdly, a reduction of armaments under the control of the same League of Nations. Thus the whole business is entrusted to the League of Nations, while the report binds the latter in no way whatever; it is extremely characteristic that just as in the above-mentioned "draft for an international convention," the report of the Second International's Commission also enumerates all kinds of armaments, which have to be subjected to reduction, but does not cite even approximate figures of reduction. There is only one concrete proposal in the "report": the prohibition of gas warfare and the use of bacteria in a war. But this is the cheapest and most innocent demand that could have been imagined, for, as the editor of the British "*Economist*" rightly remarked, it is chemical preparation for war that is completely insusceptible of control.

Thus the project drawn up by the Second International after long and great labours forms a natural complement to the draft convention drawn up by the Commission of the patron of the Second International—the League of Nations. Both the one and the other serves only to put up a smoke-screen and to hide the frantic preparations for war from the masses.

IN such circumstances the proposal introduced into the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament by the Soviet delegation had the effect of a bombshell: for the first time in history the intrigues of the diplomats of the ruling classes were counterposed by a clear and definite demand for complete disarmament, originating not from some pacifist society, and not from idle dreams, but from the representatives of a State which occupies a sixth part of the world's surface, and one ready immediately to realise their proposals in practice under conditions of universal disarmament.

Naturally, the Soviet proposal found a vital response among the millions of the working classes, who remember very well what they had to pay for the world slaughter of 1914, and who have been convinced that all the promises made to them during the world war were only trickery, and that the masses of the victor countries—Britain, France and Italy—have inevitably suffered no less from the war, even if not more than the masses of the defeated countries. Consequently the diplomats of the capitalist Powers had no possibility of passing the Soviet proposals over in silence or of hiding them in the hay, much as they wished to do so. The Paris "*Temps*" wrote: "Certainly sound tactics demand a consideration of the Russian proposal in order to prevent the Soviet from exploiting before the uninformed masses the fact that it was the capitalist Powers in Geneva who, without preliminary consideration, turned down the formula of the establishment of peace among the nations put forward by the worst revolutionary government that has ever existed." What was said by this French bourgeois newspaper was repeated by the social-democratic newspapers. The Belgian "*Peuple*" wrote: The project must be considered, in

order to demonstrate clearly the illusory nature of the proposals put forth by the U.S.S.R. and so avoid their deluding public opinion." The *i's* were dotted by the Geneva correspondent of the organ of the British Labour Party, the "*Daily Herald*." "The general impression here is that the Russian proposal for disarmament will have great influence on the elections throughout Europe, in consequence the demand is being made that it should be considered next month at the session of the Commission and then rejected. I have heard that it is proposed to limit the work of the forthcoming session of the Commission for Disarmament to the consideration of this proposal, that consideration of the League of Nations draft convention will be deferred, and thus it will be impossible to call a conference on disarmament this year, such as Russia and Germany demand." The task was clear: the disclosure of the "illusory" nature of the Soviet proposal as soon as possible, in order to destroy the impression it had given the masses, and then to quietly put the whole business of disarmament, which had taken such an unpleasant turn, in a long box and bury it.

Under the guidance of Lord Cushendun the bourgeois diplomats endeavoured to carry out these tasks as best they could. Lord Cushendun argued that the "civilised world" could not disarm so long as the Soviet Government existed, which everywhere stirs up civil war and organises risings in the colonies. The representative in Geneva of the Belgian Government, Jacquemins, declared that "the Soviet proposal is pervaded with hatred for civilisation, and its sole aim is the overthrow of the existing system throughout the world." As a result the Soviet proposal for disarmament was rejected almost unanimously, while the proposal for partial disarmament introduced by the Soviet delegation immediately after was stifled at birth. Only the representative of the German delegation supported the Soviet proposals, not in the least because of his love of peace, but in order thus to blackmail the Entente States and to incite them to grant Germany also the right to arm, since they themselves had not fulfilled the promises given in Versailles and were not reducing their own armaments.

THE Soviet proposals were turned down unanimously. But the speeches of Lord Cushendun and the votes of the Commission only emphasised still more strongly the fact that the only country carrying out a policy of peace is the Soviet Republic, that despite their dissembling pacifist phrases all the capitalist States are intensifying their preparations for war. The impression made on the working class by the Soviet proposal was so strong that the left social-democratic press, adapting themselves to the mood of the masses, in Germany at least, where the attitude of different sections of the bourgeoisie to the Soviet proposal was varied, and where it was less dangerous to be liberal on the issue, approved in words the Soviet proposal, and condemned the position occupied on the issue by the "*Vorwaertsists*." The impression made by the Soviet proposal was so strong that the Entente States, Britain and France, hastened to undertake two pacifist manœuvres in order to weaken it.

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Britain again raised the question of calling a conference for the reduction of naval armaments, which had been turned down by the United States, while France expressed her willingness to meet the Kellogg proposal of the American Government on the matter of concluding a pact for the "outlawry" of war. The hypocrisy of these pacifistic manœuvres is still more transparent than that of the "draft for an international convention on disarmament," drawn up by the League of Nations Commission. As for the British proposal, it was made in the full knowledge that the United States would reject a conference. As for France's willingness to agree to the American proposal to "conclude a pact for recognition of the outlawry of war," that readiness binds France to nothing, for she has made three essential reservations to the American proposal. In the first place, the convention must not affect the Versailles Treaty, the guarantee pact and other robber treaties concluded after the war in the slightest degree. Then the acceptance of the American programme does not deprive the signatory Powers in the least of their "right to legal self-defence"—a conception under the cloak of which any aggressive war can be carried on, as we know. Finally, the violation of this programme by any Power sets free all the others who have subscribed to it.

For that matter, the authors of this programme, the Government of the United States, pressed it forward by no means out of peace-loving reasons. It was put forward in the first place in order to enfeeble the League of Nations; secondly, in order to defend the Monroe doctrine, or, in other words, the right of the United States to dominate the whole American continent. In order that there should not be any doubt as to the true intentions of the United States the Geneva press of the League of Nations has explained that wars such as the United States' attack on Nicaragua will not be regarded as "wars outside the law," but only as "expeditions."

WHATEVER cunning manœuvres the capitalist despoilers may adopt, they cannot get rid of the impression which has been given by the emergence of two contrary programmes on the war issue in Geneva—that of the Soviet Republic and that of the capitalist States. And because of this the lackeys of the bourgeoisie attempted to undermine the Soviet proposals from the other end in order to discredit them in the eyes of the revolutionarily inclined worker masses.

Certain centrists, on the one hand, and renegades from Communism on the others (Levi, Ruth Fischer, Maslov and others) interpret Litvinov's proposal as a pacifist act, only with the difference that the centrists hypocritically approve the act, while the Maslovists also hypocritically "unmask" it as a betrayal of Leninism. Thus, Blum writes in "Populaire": "The U.S.S.R. would not have participated in the Commission if it had not considered it possible that the Commission would yield advantageous results; consequently the possibility of peace exists even within the framework of the capitalist League of Nations; consequently, in declaring that the people can bring pressure to bear

on their governments, forcing the latter to organise peace, we are not traitors of the workers' interests."

On the other hand, the Maslovist "Volkswille," in the issue for March 8th, writes: "Litvinov's declaration has nothing whatever in common with Leninism. It is only necessary to compare Lenin's instruction to the Hague delegation with the pacifist and utopian proposals which Litvinov read to the audience of the League of Nations, to be fully convinced of the opportunist degeneration of the present-day Soviet diplomacy. . . . As the class-conscious proletariat struggled against Wilson's trickery with his 17 (*sic*) points, so is it necessary now to struggle just as fiercely against the incredible pacifism of the falsifiers of Leninism." It is curious to note that certain members of the pure bourgeois camp attempt for various reasons to give just as opportunist an interpretation of the Soviet proposal. Thus, in supporting the Soviet proposal Count Bernsdorff also identified it with Wilson's fourteen points. And the correspondent of the "New York Times" also endeavoured to interpret the step taken by the Soviet Government as a decline into Thermidorianism. This method of discrediting the Soviet proposal in the eyes of the revolutionary workers impels us to consider in more detail the principle of our tactics in the disarmament question, the more so as even in the Communist press the Soviet attitude has in places afforded an opportunity for a not quite sound position to be taken up on the question.

ON what basis do the ultra-left renegades of Communism found their tricky charge of "pacifism" made against the Soviet Government? On the characterisation of pacifism which Lenin provided. In an article "On the Slogan of Disarmament," written in 1916 Lenin criticised pacifists of two kinds. Against the pacifist Kautskyites, who demanded the reduction of armaments, he wrote: "The Kautsky formula of disarmament, directed to the present governments of the imperialist Great Powers, is the most contemptible opportunism, bourgeois pacifism, which in reality, despite the blessed aspirations of the dear little Kautskyites, draws the masses away from the revolutionary struggle."

He was somewhat more gentle, but just as resolute, in rejecting the pacifism of certain revolutionary social-democrats, preponderantly the representatives of the smaller countries which kept out of the world slaughter, who put forward the demand for complete disarmament. It was to a criticism of the latter, indeed, that his entire article was devoted. In regard to them he wrote: "Disarmament is the ideal of socialism. In a socialist society there will be no war, consequently disarmament will be realised. But he is no socialist who awaits the realisation of socialism apart from the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . To make 'disarmament' part of the programme means to say in general: 'We are against the application of armed force.' In this attitude also there is not a grain of Marxism, any more than if we said: 'We are against the application of force. . . .' Our slogan must be: 'The arming of the proletariat in order to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie.' That is the sole possible tactic of the revolutionary class, a tactic arising out of all the

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objective development of capitalist militarism, and prescribed by that development. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its universal historical tasks, to throw all kinds of arms without exception on to the scrap heap. And undoubtedly the proletariat will do this, but only then—and in no way earlier."

So Lenin wrote in 1916, and his words remain completely applicable to-day. Lenin regarded any talk of disarmament, whether partial or complete, in capitalist countries as opportunism. He regarded the realisation of disarmament as possible only after the final victory of the proletariat on a world scale. But an historical situation has now developed in which the proletariat have obtained the victory in one country, being left in a hostile capitalist environment and struggling against the possibility of capitalist interventions, and resorting to the support of the international proletariat. Under such conditions the general line of the necessity for all sections of the Comintern to unmask pacifist illusions and the necessity for the proletariat which has obtained the victory to retain arms in their hands continues to remain in force. But the methods of unmasking pacifism are modified in correspondence with the present situation: those methods are of one nature in capitalist countries, and of another in the case of the Soviet Government. And in face of this distinction the secondary distinction between complete and partial disarmament takes a back place, despite the opinion of certain comrades. For this very reason in 1922 no other than Lenin laid down a policy for the Russian delegation at the Hague Conference which declared that "during the course of the further labours of the conference it intends to propose the universal reduction of armaments and to support all proposals having as their aim the lightening of the load of militarism." And in its resolution on "the struggle against war" the Eighth Plenum of the Comintern drew a sharp distinction between the position on this question in capitalist countries and in the U.S.S.R.

In this resolution we read: "In the situation of intensified preparations for imperialist wars the talk of the bourgeois governments and the petty-bourgeois pacifists anent disarmament are the greatest of hypocrisy and mockery. . . . The only country which has already in practice reduced its army to the minimum is the U.S.S.R. Amid all the existing States, she is the sole stable bulwark of peace. . . . The U.S.S.R. policy directed to disarmament is the policy of a State in which the proletariat is in charge of the government, and is laying the foundations of a new society in which war will be excluded. Consequently the attitude of the world proletariat to the position of the U.S.S.R. in the disarmament question must be different in principle from that which they adopt to the hypocritical proposals for disarmament made by capitalistic States."

IN order to understand the idea of the Soviet proposal it has to be kept in mind that the Soviet Government does not say to the capitalist States: "Disarm!" but says, "Let us all disarm together!"

Thus the proposal includes the U.S.S.R. also, but the U.S.S.R. can itself make this proposal honestly without any pacifist deception or self-delusion. The U.S.S.R. is actually ready to disarm even now under conditions of universal disarmament.

The Soviet proposal had a double purpose. It was first to tell the truth concerning the Soviet Government, to demonstrate to the great masses by action that the Soviet Government is carrying out a peace policy; secondly, it was to unmask the pacifist deceit of the capitalist States, to disclose to the masses the true predatory aims of their policy. The tenor of the Soviet proposal was: "We can disarm; you have a try to do it!" The Soviet proposal displays to the toiling masses not faith in the possibility of capitalist States disarming (on the contrary, from the very beginning the Soviet delegation openly declared in the Commission that they did not believe in that possibility), but only the possibility of recognition of the internal stability and strength of the U.S.S.R., which allows of its raising the question of disarmament under conditions of universal disarmament.

The capitalist States and their social-democratic agents accuse the Soviet Government of red imperialism. The Soviet Government, which is not pursuing any annexational designs whatever, answers: "Why not check up on our dispute by a practical test? We are ready to disarm at once. Do you agree to do the same?"

THE capitalist States and their social-democratic agents declare that they have a "democratic system," while the regime established in the U.S.S.R. is one of holding down all classes, including the proletariat, by force. The Soviet Government answers: "Let us introduce universal disarmament, and then we shall see where the government is based on the will of the enormous majority of the people, in your country or ours." The Soviet Government openly recognises that there is a dictatorship of one class—the proletariat—in the U.S.S.R., but the proletariat realises its dictatorship in that country in alliance with the enormous majority of the peasantry. Undoubtedly counter-revolutionary elements, elements hostile to the Soviet Government, exist inside the country, but they now present danger only inasmuch as the Soviet Government finds itself within the capitalist encirclement, only in so far as those elements can speculate on a capitalist intervention. Consequently, the Soviet Government can feel that it is more stable internally than the government of any capitalist country, in which is realised the dictatorship of the minority over the majority. And so the Soviet Government can boldly propose universal disarmament, a proposal which not one capitalist government in the world can dare to make at the present time.

And the proposal of partial disarmament which the Soviet delegation put forward after the Commission had rejected its project for complete disarmament pursued the same double purpose. Those definite forms of partial disarmament which the Soviet delegation proposed have nothing whatever in common with those "limitations of armaments" of which the reformists talk. The Soviet proposal for partial disarmament suggests the taking of a genuine and decisive step towards universal dis-

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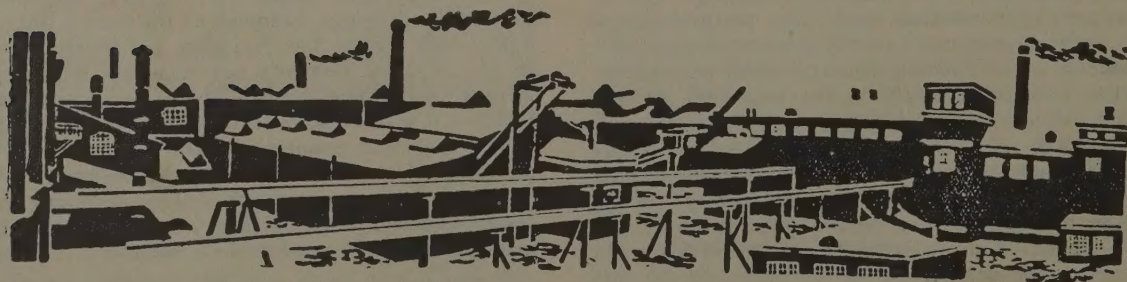
armament, and its chief point is directed against the great capitalist despoilators, since for the first time the proposal is made that there should be a greater degree of disarmament on the part of the Great Powers than for the petty vassal States dependent on them. Partial disarmament of such a nature would be a direct blow to the whole imperialist system, and in proposing it the Soviet delegation did not doubt for a moment that the capitalist States could not accept it without ceasing to be what they were. And yet the Soviet Government could make this proposal absolutely honestly and sincerely, for such a partial disarmament is quite acceptable by the U.S.S.R. The purport of this second proposal was that we are ready even now for universal disarmament provided you also disarm, but you do not agree even to partial disarmament.

THE opponents of the Soviet proposals said: "This is only a strategic manoeuvre; it is only a method of propaganda." Yes, it is a manoeuvre; yes, it is a method of propaganda. But the capitalist States also manoeuvre and make propaganda. The only difference is that the manoeuvre of the Soviet Government is an honest one, while the pacifist manoeuvres of the capitalist States are double-dealing and hypocritical; and the responsibility for the fact that the Soviet proposal has at present only a propagandist significance falls not on the Soviet Government but on the capitalist States who by their very nature cannot do without wars.

NOW we pass to a second question. Can and should the Communist Parties in capitalist countries introduce proposals for disarmament into their parliaments? In no circumstances can they or should they. For them what Lenin wrote in 1916 in his article "On the Slogan of Disarmament" remains fully

applicable. They cannot introduce such proposals without sowing pacifist illusions, for they speak in the name of a proletariat which is only struggling for power, and not in the name of a proletariat which has the power and arms already in its hands; coming from their lips such proposals would display a belief in the possibility of the capitalist States disarming themselves. Their direct task consists not in the achievement of socialism, but in the conquest of power, and in order to do this the realisation of another slogan is needed—the slogan of the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat. For them our Communist slogans in the struggle against the war danger remain wholly in force. But from this it by no means follows that they cannot and should not exploit the Soviet proposals for disarmament in order to further the revolutionary movement in their own countries. On the contrary, those proposals can furnish them with stronger weapons of struggle.

Arising from the conduct of the Soviet delegation in the Disarmament Commission and from the reaction of the representatives of capitalist States, and their bourgeois lackeys to the Soviet proposal, the Communist Parties in capitalist countries must everywhere conduct an energetic campaign for the explanation of the true character of the unceasing struggle for peace carried on by the Soviet Government, and for the exposure of the hypocrisy of all the bourgeois and social-democratic pacifists. The summary lesson which the Soviet delegation gave in the Disarmament Commission must be exploited by all the Communist Parties in order to intensify the struggle against the capitalist system and to attract the sympathy of the great masses towards the U.S.S.R. That campaign must be carried on, not under the slogan of "Disarmament and peace," but under that of "The overthrow of capitalism and the defence of the Soviet Republic and the oppressed colonial peoples against intervention."



Rationalisation in Poland

Stefansky

DURING the period from the establishment of State independence until the beginning of 1924, Polish industry recovered fairly swiftly from the post-war ruin. One of the chief conditions contributing to the easier accomplishment of this process was inflation. Under its shelter production grew and exports increased. The economic situation had a clearly expressed export character, with a weak internal market owing to the impoverishment of the working masses. About 25 per cent. of the production of the textile industry, over 40 per cent. of metal production, and about 40 per cent. of the coal output was exported abroad.

Owing to the extraordinary depreciation of currency State credits became essentially subsidies. On the other hand this depreciation of currency almost completely released industry from taxation and simultaneously automatically reduced the wages of the workers.

The stabilisation of the currency and the introduction of a gold standard led to prices on the internal market quickly reaching, and then passing the world level.

Industry in the process of restoration found itself in a completely different situation: it had to face competition with foreign manufactures, while possessing a backward technical apparatus, experiencing a great deficiency of resources while credit was dear, and being faced with the mighty German industry, which with the aid of American capital was being swiftly restored on a higher technical basis.

A new, heavy and protracted crisis set in, which, continually growing more severe, led at the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926 to a catastrophic economic and political situation, ending with the Fascist coup d'état accomplished by Pilsudsky in May, 1926. This period is characteristic for the efforts of the bourgeoisie directed to a lowering of the cost of production in order to withstand the competition of foreign manufactures.

Poland's Cheap Labour

To the better technique of western European countries, and their greater credit and capital facilities the Polish capitalists could oppose only one factor; cheaper labour power.

The minimum wage for the maximum productivity of labour was the principle which the capitalists in Poland applied with the utmost ruthlessness. In this attack on the working class, rationalisation was one of the chief forms of extracting surplus values from the workers. In Poland rationalisation was bound up with technical re-equipment in less degree than in other countries; it consisted almost exclusively in extracting a higher degree of output from the same old machines.

For proof of this one may refer to the declarations of manufacturers themselves, and of sources quite favourable to them. We here cite only a few of the more characteristic utterances on the part of the capitalists.

"We do not possess adequate capital for technical rationalisation. We do not possess resources for the sinking of capital in technique, while we must use the credits we obtain from abroad for the extension of our

circulating capital," wrote the organ of the textile industry in Lodz—the "Pravda."

M. Valuntsevitch, the head of the Department for Statistics of Labour in Industry attached to the Chief Statistical Bureau, confirms this:

"However, a complete reorganisation of enterprises demands time, and in regard to the perfecting of technique considerable capital also, consequently the reorganisation of enterprises now being carried out consists first and foremost in an increase in the productivity of labour, and in the reorganisation of labour with a view to increasing its productivity and the cutting down of the administrative and worker personnel." (Statistics of Labour, No. 1, 1927.)

In an interview with a representative of the great textile industry we read (on the 1925 period):

"At the spinning mills, restoration of labour to a healthy attitude has been undertaken. . . . At the present time, when in consequence of the stabilisation of our currency and the serious conditions arising from the crisis it is necessary to take account of every copek, unnecessary workers have been dismissed, which—beyond the expectations of the administration—even increased the productivity of the machines."

The chemical industry set up a special commission, which after investigating the position of production in 1925, remarks: "As for the technical organisation, the chief means of eliminating its deficiencies are in the first place the sinking of capital and the renewal of equipment, but an indispensable condition of these is the existence of investment capital, which so far Poland does not possess."

In the press devoted to economic questions, innumerable such declarations, pronounced by the capitalists themselves, are to be found.

That Poland has not carried out any requirement of the productive apparatus on any extensive scale is exemplified by the statistics for the import of machinery during 1924-26 (in tons):

1924	1925	1926
44,764	42,811	17,881
100%	96%	40%

For the textile industry, which has achieved the greatest results in the direction of increasing the productivity of labour, the import of new machinery was as follows:

1924	1925	1926
4,675	6,275	2,186

Consequently the period under consideration is characterised not by an extension and improvement of the apparatus of production, but on the contrary by a fall in the import of all kinds of machinery.*

* In 1927 a great increase in the import of new machinery is observable not only by comparison with 1926, but also with 1924. In comparison with 1926 this increase is as much as 200 per cent.

Undoubtedly this has influenced an increase in the level of production and the internal structure of the apparatus of production. But this is outside the period of rationalisation from 1924 to the beginning of 1927 for which we wish to summarise the results of the process of rationalisation.

Rationalisation in Poland—continued

The coal output belongs to one of the spheres of industry in which rationalisation has reached the greatest dimensions, where the exploitation of labour power has proceeded to an incredible extent, one unknown not only in post-war, but even in pre-war years.

As statistical information on the productivity of mines and the number of workers employed in them is published systematically, it is easier to establish the actual situation and to illustrate it with statistics in the case of this industry than in any other.

Year	Output in 1000 tons	No. of workers	Per cent.	Production for 1 working day in kilogrammes	Per cent.	Production per hewer per day	Per cent.
1913	40,727	120,116	100	1,143	100	5,576	100
1922	34,832	212,913*	177	571	50	—	—
1923	36,098	216,565*	180	571	50	4,106	73.8
1924	32,225	151,041*	126	693	60	4,700	84
1925	29,080	124,303	103	938	82	6,035	108
1926	35,766	114,123	95	1,118	98	7,194	129
1927	37,800	112,500	93				
		1st quarter		1,157	101		
		2nd quarter		1,253	109.6		

From this table it is evident that beginning with 1924, the number of workers occupied in production falls sharply as the result of mass dismissals, while simultaneously the productivity of the labour of the remaining workers grows at a swift pace.

Thus, as the result of the rationalisation carried out in the coal industry from 1924 to 1927 the coal barons have succeeded in more than doubling the productivity of labour and eliminating 104,000 workers from the mines.

Figures for Chief Industries

In the case of the metal industries we do not possess figures drawing such an exact picture of achievements along the line of rationalisation as we have for the coal industry. We can only judge of the situation here indirectly, by comparing the level of production and the number of workers employed in production.* (We must take into consideration the fact that in 1925-26 there was a deal of partial unemployment, so that the diminution in the number of working days was much greater than the number of workers employed generally.) The figures are in 1,000 tons:

Year	Iron	Steel	Sheet iron manufactures	Workers
1913	1,955	1,774	1,203	48,063
1923	520	1,130	770	62,522
1924	336	673	488	34,143
1925	315	762	584	35,892
1926	327	789	562	33,539
1927				
1st qtr.	129.7	307	210	42,756
2nd qtr.	142.7	296.7	204	43,984
3rd qtr.	167	335	246	45,162

Here we see that as in the mining so in the metal industry, beginning from 1924 there is a sharp fall in the number of workers employed in production together with a simultaneous decline in production, but the tempo of reduction in number of workers occupied greatly exceeds that of the decline in production. Then in 1926 the production rose slightly, while the number of

* In 1922-24 in the case of coal, and in 1923-25 in the case of metal, the figures of employment are for the end of the year; for other years the average of months is given.

workers continued to fall, and in 1927 the production exceeds the level in 1923 (a most favourable year for the metal industry) and at the same time the number of workers composes only 70 per cent. of the number of workers in 1923. By comparison with 1923 there is a reduction of over 17,000 workers.

In the oil industry there were 15,000 persons employed in production in May, 1924, ten thousand in May, 1925, and about 9,500 at the end of 1926.

While by comparison with 1923 the output of oil in 1926 increased by eight per cent., the number of workers employed in production decreased by 36 per cent.

In May, 1924, the number of workers occupied in the oil refining industry was 7,900; in May, 1926 6,500; in June, 1927 5,176. During the period from 1924 to 1927, the number of workers occupied fell by 2,700, or by 34 per cent., while production in 1925 maintained the 1924 level, and in 1926 rose by 10 per cent.

COKE OUTPUT

Year	Workers	Coal coked in tons 1,000 tons
1913	...	4,230
1924	...	1,877
1925	...	1,812
1926	...	2,056

The number of workers employed in coking works in 1926 was less than half the number occupied in 1913, while the amount of coal coked was only 13 per cent. less.

Together with coal production, the textile industry is one of those industries in which rationalisation has achieved its greatest successes.

The absence of statistics robs us of the possibility of illustrating this with figures relating to the textile industry as a whole. Only on the basis of certain statistical comparisons can we judge of the results of rationalisation in the textile industry.

For the years 1925 and 1926 a comparison of the quantity of raw materials in thousand tons worked up, and of the number of working hours put in (in millions of hours) is very instructive.

Year	Cotton	Wool	Jute	Working hours
1925	...	53.9	9.9	12.7
1926	...	65	11.8	12.6

From this comparison it is obvious that in 1926 the raw cotton worked up rose by 20 per cent., wool by 19 per cent., jute was as much as in 1925, while the number of working hours put in dropped by 2 per cent.

But it has to be kept in mind that 1925 was the second year of rationalisation in the textile industry. The first great steps were taken in 1924. This signifies that if we would compare 1926 with 1923, which was actually the most favourable year after the war (though rationalisation had not then been introduced), the results would be still more perceptible.

MATCH FACTORIES

Year	No. of workers	Thousands of boxes
	VI.	XII.
1922	...	4,838
1924	...	2,208
1925	...	2,568
1926	...	2,184

From this table it is evident that with a reduced number of workers in 1926 by comparison with 1924,

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the output rose by 46 per cent. By comparison with 1922 production is up by 20 per cent. with a reduction of workers by 54 per cent.

CELLULOSE, PAPER AND CARDBOARD FACTORIES (Production in tons).

Year	Paper	Cardboard	Cellulose	Workers
1924 ...	46,145	11,422	36,123	—
1925 ...	74,459	16,110	46,479	7,242
1926 ...	81,894	19,015	48,440	7,769

Here we see a great increase in production by comparison with 1924; paper by 78 per cent., cardboard by 69 per cent., cellulose by 34 per cent., while the number of workers employed over the same period only slightly vacillates.

OUTPUT OF POTASH SALTS

Year	Output in tons	Workers
1923 ...	61,503	542
1924 ...	81,420	469
1925 ...	178,803	574
1926 ...	207,689	749

Despite the great increase in production the number of workers dropped in 1924, while in 1925, when by comparison with 1923 the output was almost tripled, the number of workers rose by only a small percentage. By comparison with 1923, in 1926 the number of workers rose by 39 per cent. while production rose by 237 per cent.

The output of zinc factories (in thousand tons) and the number of workers employed in them (at the end of each year) were as follows:

Raw				
Year	Zinc	per cent.	Workers	per cent.
1923 ...	96.5	100	12,239	100
1924 ...	92.3	96	10,237	85
1925 ...	114.4	118	10,762	89
1926 ...	124	129	11,481	94
1927				
1st half	72.5	150	12,729	104

In 1924 is begun the same process which we have observed in other spheres of industry: the number of workers falls by 15 per cent. together with a slight drop in production (by 4 per cent.), but then production rises at a swift tempo, while the number of workers increases very slowly.

As the result, the relation of the number of workers employed to the level of production (taking 1923 as 100) in the first half of 1927 is: 104: 150.

OUTPUT OF IRON ORE

(For 1923 the number of workers is the figure for the end of the year, for 1924-27 the figure is the average over the twelve months.)

Year	Output in 1,000 tons	per cent.	Workers	per cent.
1923 ...	449	100	6,619	100
1924 ...	288	64	3,500	53
1925 ...	212	47	2,388	36
1926 ...	315	70	3,688	54
1927 (9 mths)	379	112	5,740	87

The productivity of labour per worker during recent months is shown by statistics published in No. 46 of "Industry and Trade."

1927	No. of workers	Tons per worker per month
May ...	6,251	6.70
June ...	6,504	6.43
July ...	6,310	7.33
August ...	6,168	7.41
September ...	6,128	7.78
October ...	6,097	8.48

That this productivity has been achieved not by any means by way of technical improvements we find stated in the same number of "Industry and Trade."

"In our country a very large part of the machinery of production of iron ore is on such a very low technical level that there is nothing surprising in the fact that, despite the incredibly low cost of labour, in the final account ore is expensive, and thus is rendered difficult of access to factories."

A similar condition of things is to be observed in other spheres of production: chemical, glass, metal-working, etc.

We end this survey with statistics indicating the same process of rationalisation on the railways.

The process of rationalisation on the State railways, like industry generally, had its inception in 1924, and took the way of intensifying the exploitation of labour power to the highest degree.

Year	Engine running in 1,000 engine kilometres	Train running in 1,000 train kilometres	Truck running in million axle kilometres	Average runs of engines in train journeys		In kil. passenger carriages	In a day, goods trains
1923	128,864	89,357	4,471				
1924	122,259	84,068	4,144	149	81	174	39
1925	127,897	91,893	4,682	160	88	169	45
1926	132,989	101,172	5,782	165	101	168	55

Here we observe the intensified work of railway transport in 1926 not only by comparison with 1924 and 1925, but even in comparison with 1923—the most favourable year of this whole period. The average daily run of a passenger train engine increased by 11 per cent., and of a goods engine by 25 per cent. The average composition of goods trains (number of axles) increases over this period by 10 per cent., and so on. The intensified exploitation of transport went on parallel with a reduction in the number of railway workers. In consequence the growth of intensity of railway workers' labour is very much greater than the increase in exploitation of trucks, engines, etc.

In regard to tonnage, the "Glos Pravdy" (Voice of Truth) communicates in October, 1927, that during the period from 1st January, 1924 to 31st December, 1926 transport tonnage increased by 92 per cent., while the number of personnel was reduced by 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1924, for every 100,000 ton-kilometres there were on the average 6,447 workers, while in the fourth quarter of 1926 there were only 3,002 workers.

There is a further increase in movement on the railways during 1927. While in 1926 the average load of the fifteen-ton trucks was in August 15,678 trucks daily, in 1927 there is a further increase by 5 per cent. to 16,503 trucks daily.

The numerical composition of the railway workers and their average number per kilometre of railway line and per one million kilometres run during the period 1924-26 are as follows:

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	1924	1925	1926
Total No. of workers ...	195,304	191,572	191,942
Per kilometre of track ...	11.7	11.4	11.3
Per million kilometres run ...	47.1	40.9	33.2

(From "Industry and Trade," No. 47.)

As for the wages level, the average yearly wage of workers included in the expenditure for maintenance of the personnel staff (54 per cent. of the total number of workers) was:

1924	1925	1926
Polish zloties	Polish zloties	Polish zloties
2,551.6	3,270.2	3,269.9
100 per cent.	128 per cent.	128 per cent.

From the foregoing it is evident that the average wage of a railway worker nominally rose by only 28 per cent. over the three years, while in 1926 it remained at the 1925 level. As the average increase of expenditure on maintenance according to the official co-efficients was in 1926 reckoned at 26 per cent. for Warsaw, it follows that in view of such a correlation of wages and prices real wages at the very least must have fallen during 1926, not to mention conditions in other years.

In speaking of the fall in real wages of the railway worker, it has to be borne in mind that even in 1924 and 1925, in consequence of the rise in prices, these wages were reduced by at the very least more than 10 per cent.

Thus, while the productivity of labour, reckoned in kilometres run, for example, increased during the period from 1924 to 1926 by 30 per cent., wages fell by 35 to 40 per cent.

In the realm of intensification of labour the capitalist State not merely keeps pace with private capitalists—it surpasses them.

The results achieved by the capitalists by way of rationalisation are unquestionably great. Together with other causes they have formed the basis of attempts at the stabilisation of Polish capitalism.

Methods of Rationalisation

It is now necessary in a few lines to give a picture of the methods by which these achievements have been gained and of the manner in which the process of rationalisation has influenced the conditions of labour for the working class.

The chief places in the complex and varied system of methods employed in carrying through rationalisation are occupied by an increase in the number of machines attended, an increase in the speed of machines, piece work and bonuses, an increase in the rate of output, selection of workers and similar methods.

The increase in the number of machines attended has been most applied in the textile industry, with a simultaneous adoption of piece-work, bonuses, etc.

The Krakhel inspector of labour thus describes the first attempts at rationalisation made in 1924:

"On the initiative of certain factories a beginning has been made with the attendance of one woman worker to four looms, which at first even caused elemental strikes of women workers without the sanction of the trade unions."

"The unfavourable economic position in regard to the success of the struggle to maintain conditions of labour, and the resolute attitude taken up by the in-

dustrialists, have forced the workers to yield; and the arrangement whereby one woman worker minds four looms has been introduced. . . . Unfortunately this has by no means entailed a rise in women workers' wages. . . . The 50 per cent. supplement for intensified labour which was at first established is now no longer observed.

"At present in Lodz women workers customarily attend three machines and an automatic machine, but certain factories (Gayer, Vidaevsk) are introducing the arrangement whereby one woman worker attends twelve automatic machines."

The same process is noted by the inspector of labour for Lodz, Kulichkovsky. (In answer to a questionnaire issued by the Chief Statistical Bureau, No. 9):

"Productivity is being increased for example, at the weaving mills, when formerly one worker attended one loom, while now frequently four looms are attended at once. . . . In the Scheibler and Groman works about 15,000 workers were at work at the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924, while at the present time 10,700 persons are working, and the productivity per worker has risen."

The director of one great mill for cotton goods declares: (Answer 4 in "Statistics of Labour"):

"The reorganisation of the weaving shops in the direction above mentioned (transferring one worker to four looms) has not only confirmed our expectations, but has even exceeded them."

And further:

"In the spinning departments there are fewer workers at the present time than there were before the war. For some time there were more workers, but last year it became necessary to reduce the number; for instance, in the vicuna spinning shop before the war, there were seven workers to every thousand spindles, after the war there were eight, now there are six."

One of the cotton-goods mills in Lodz reports:

"In August last year (1924) we reduced the number of workers in certain departments of the spinning shops from 9.2 to 6.5 workers per thousand spindles, or by 29.4 per cent."

Exploiting Textile Workers

One of the great mills, giving information on the application of our latest construction, in answer to the questionnaire of the Chief Statistical Bureau, writes that before the war there were twelve workers to every thousand spindles, while now there are 5.5. At the same time another factory, also equipped with new machinery for intensified output, reports that they have only 3½ workers per thousand spindles.

In the mills of Zirardov (near Warsaw), reorganisation has been carried out to such an extent that where formerly there were nine or ten workers to every thousand spindles, the same work is now undertaken by five or six workers. As the result of this reorganisation about three thousand men and women workers have been thrown on the street.

We could quote innumerable such instances. In the majority of cases, they have reference to 1924 and 1925. Since that time the process of rationalisation has achieved further successes.

We have statistics on the reduction of workers in the steel, matches, paper, tobacco and other industries.

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The speeding up of machinery has had its greatest application in the textile industry, in which speeding up has frequently taken place simultaneously with an increase in the number of machines attended. We find confirmation of this in answers to the questionnaire sent out by the Chief Statistical Bureau:

"Speeding up the machinery has produced an intensification of production to the average extent of 18 per cent." (Answer 43.)

"We are now bringing into service machines with a greater speed capacity to the same number of hands per machine. In comparison with pre-war times productivity has increased by 10 per cent. In certain departments it is no longer possible to speed up machinery." (Answer 8.)

The answer of a mill for cloth and wool manufactures. (Answer 64.)

"Looms are working at a speed of 94-96 throws per minute. In our opinion this is the greatest speed at which goods used in our production can be woven."

As is evident from the questionnaire sent out by the Chief Statistical Bureau, beginning from 1923, and in certain cases even 1922, piecework is being adopted more and more. When speaking of piecework the industrialists well nigh choke with joy.

"Where the production depends on the skill of the worker, unquestionably the introduction of piecework is desirable, since the difference in productivity sometimes equals 50 per cent. and even more." (Answer 38.)

"The adoption of a bonus system even in those departments where owing to technical reasons it would seem absurd, has given satisfactory results."

The extent to which piecework has been adopted in the textile industry is evident from an interview with the secretary of the union "Labour in Lodz" cited in "Statistics of Labour."

"I must emphasise that the number of day workers and unskilled workers is insignificant. For example, in the weaving shops of the Gayer firm, there are eight day workers in one shift. Out of 5,000 hands they have perhaps 18 to 25 day workers. These unskilled workers are under the continual oversight of a supervisor. They are taken on by the day and can be dismissed at any time. Knowing that there are many others waiting for their jobs, they work as hard as possible."

Results of the Bonus System

What the system of bonuses leads to we learn from the correspondence of workers at the "Potsisk" factory.

"At the 'Potsisk' works a systematic worsening of the conditions of labour and wages is being introduced. This is done in the following fashion: a bonus is fixed, which is afterwards systematically cut down. While a year ago an hour was allowed for the preparation of any particular article, after some time the time allowed for making the same article was cut down to half-an-hour."

In the Dombrova coal basin the workers are being paid on piece rates not for a wagon, but for the metre, while simultaneously the wages have been lowered from twenty zloties to 12 zloties eighty groshes per metre. (Figures for end of 1926.)

In the Dombrova works the employers are organis-

ing so-called competitions among the workers, and are incessantly raising the productivity of labour by promises of bonuses for work beyond the obligatory minimum, while the minimum is itself raised from time to time.

Such are the more important methods of exploiting the worker. Of course, this does not exhaust the entire system of methods employed by the employers, which methods undoubtedly vary greatly in practice.

In one of the questionnaires issued by the Chief Statistical Bureau for example, mention is made of "introducing and substituting younger workers in the spinning sheds, which has greatly increased the productivity of labour."

Having an enormous reserve army of unemployed at his disposal, the manufacturer can take his pick of the workers, choosing either the younger ones, who have not become worn out in work, or else those most experienced in their special line.

And finally, rationalisation is leading to an extended exploitation of female and juvenile labour in the production process.

There is an interesting note on this point in "Golos Pravy" for December 4th:

"The incommensurable post-war growth of female labour is very striking in the case of the Chenstokhova textile industry. According to the statistics of the 'Labour Inspection' the number of women occupied in production in 1922 was 6,987, or 33 per cent. of the total number of hands subject to inspection. This is an even higher percentage than that of women generally in the former kingdom of Poland in 1913. In 1925 the number of women working in Chenstokhova rose to 48 per cent. (6,489) of the total of workers occupied in industry after a reduction of staffs. In 1926 the figure reaches an incredible height—10,573, or 67 per cent. of the total of workers."

Women Non-Unionists

Only an insignificant proportion of the women belong to trade unions, and this fact makes it easier for the manufacturers to establish monstrous conditions of existence not only in regard to the women workers themselves, but also it aids them to lower the general standard of wages and the general conditions of existence of the entire working class.

In connection with this development a petty bourgeois attitude is again growing among the proletariat, in the direction of not allowing women into the factory and confining them to the bondage of household duties.

We have already pointed out that during the period of rationalisation unemployment changes its character: formerly the result of an economic crisis, the inactivity of factories and mines, it is now arising from the diametrically contrary phenomenon, from a great development in the productivity of labour, in consequence of which part of the workers become literally surplus to the process of production.

It is true that during the last three years the enormous unemployment prevalent in Poland, which in the beginning of 1926 embraced over one-third of the total of workers, was a consequence both of an economic crisis and of the mass reductions then carried out in connection with rationalisation. None the less, since the crisis has been overcome and this source of unemployment has disappeared, unemployment continues to

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exist, and to exist despite the fact that the activities of quite a number of industries have now excelled those of 1923.

We need only mention that in the mining industry in 1927 there are 105,000 fewer workers despite the fact that its production equalled that of 1923; in the metal industry the number of workers has fallen by seventeen thousand, although the production of iron and steel has greatly exceeded that of 1923; in the oil industry the number of workers has been reduced by four thousand, in the coking works by two thousand, in oil refining works by 2,700; in the great cotton goods industry in July, 1927, there are seven thousand fewer hands than in July, 1923, although the quantity of cotton imported during nine months of 1927 was greater than the import for all 1923; in the match factories there are 2,500 fewer hands than in 1923, although production has risen by 20 per cent. In 1926 the number of workers on the railways is less than that of 1924 by 10 per cent., while simultaneously there has been a great increase in the number of transport operations and intensified work on the part of the transport equipment, and so on.

Consequently, while in November, 1926 there were over 200,000 persons unemployed, and in October, 1927 there were registered 117,000 unemployed, in November, 1923 there were only 41,000 registered unemployed; and rationalisation has to be regarded as the cause of this phenomenon.

Unemployment and Emigration

The dimensions of unemployment would be incomparably larger if a great part of those deprived of work had not emigrated from Poland.

During 1923 to 1926 about 450,000 persons emigrated from Poland, of which 166,000 went to non-European countries (despite the great restriction of emigration to America). In 1926 alone 167,500 persons emigrated. This is the largest of the post-war years' figures, and it is not by any means by accident that it coincides with the moment of greatest unemployment in Poland. The fact that 68,704 persons emigrated to France alone during 1926 indicates the character of the emigration; it is not seasonal emigration, but the emigration of industrial workers. (Emigration to Germany composed 25 per cent. of the total number of emigrants.)

A consideration of real wages is a big subject and we shall only touch on it superficially here, basing ourselves on official statistics, in order to demonstrate the highly important fact that the great rise in productivity of labour has been achieved simultaneously with a noticeable lowering of real wages.

The following table gives wages (the main rates) and the rise in prices from the first six months of 1925 to March, 1927:

	Rise in wages	Rise in cost of living
Workers in the textile industry		
Lodz (after the strike)	29.1	38.3
Ditto, in Bialostock	21.9	43.2
Workers in ironworking and coking factories	24-25	41.6
Lodz metal workers (after the strike)	18.8	38.3
Metal workers in Posen	17.8-19.4	39.7

	Rise in Wages	Rise in Cost of living
Metal workers in Upper Silesia ...	24-27	41.6
Posen woodworkers	none	39.7
Building industry, Warsaw	none	39.9
Ditto—Lodz	none	38.3
Ditto—Dombrova Basin	19.8	41.4

Only in the coal industry and the oil fields did the official co-efficients for the rise in cost of living and for wages approximately equal each other at the end of the period under consideration.

In order to compare the value of wages we will add that while the expenditure for maintenance of a worker's family of four persons reckoned on the basis of a starvation minimum by the Warsaw Statistical Commission in January this year was ten zloties forty-three groshes, the basic wage of a Warsaw metal worker was six zloties seventy groshes, or 65 per cent. of that sum. The position is still worse in the case of the Lodz weavers, who in December, 1927 earned from 4.38 zloties to 6.73 zloties, or the Upper Silesia factory workers, whose wages were 6.08 zloties, or the Bialostock weavers, who earned 5.58 zloties.

What then is to be said of the wages received by unskilled workers, which amount to from 47 per cent. to 65 per cent. of the wages of skilled workers?

Increase in Accidents

The consequences of rationalisation are also witnessed to by the enormous growth of accidents during work-time. These are the statistics published by the Chief Statistical Bureau.

	Total	11,097 1924	18,940 1925	70 Growth in %
Mining industry	1,699	2,908	73	
Glass and metal working industry	2,341	4,337	85	
Textiles	1,901	2,168	67	
Chemicals	350	606	73	
Machinery and electro-technical equipment	1,297	2,202	70	
Minerals	301	562	87	
Woodworkers	1,000	1,421	42	
Foodstuffs	567	696	23	
Paper industry	141	181	28	
Leather	86	125	45	

It is true that in publishing these statistics the Chief Statistical Bureau made the reservation that "the increase of accidents in 1925 as compared with 1924 is explained by a more exact compilation of statistics of accidents, as in consequence of the extension of the Austrian laws for insurance to the territory of former Russian Poland a number of enterprises have been brought into the sphere of insurance legislation which formerly were not subject to it."

None the less, anyone who studies the table we have cited cannot but be struck by the fact that the greatest increase in accidents has occurred in those very industries in which rationalisation has achieved its greatest results (mining, metal working, chemicals, textiles, engineering), and that this coincidence is not accidental, just as the much smaller increase in the number of accidents in other spheres of industry is not accidental (from 23 to 45 per cent.). Finally, more exact compilation and the inclusion of "a number of enterprises" in the statistics cannot explain the increase of accidents by an average of 70 per cent.

Such is the nature of rationalisation. In introducing it, the manufacturers have completely ceased to

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reckon with the safeguarding of the health and the life of the workers, have completely ceased to take regulations for the defence of labour into account. This is demonstrated by the enormous figure of 58,000 violations of the law revealed by the inspection of labour, while this figure is only a small part of the actual number of violations which have occurred of recent times.

In order to illustrate the attitude of the judges to cases of violation of the regulations and laws by the manufacturers, we quote the following examples: the "Potsisk" firm in Warsaw is, despite the law, exploiting women's and juvenile labour at night. After a first dismissal of the case, on a further case the justice of the peace imposed a fine of ten zloties, on a third occasion twenty zloties, and on a fourth occasion thirty zloties, on a fifth, twenty-five zloties—each fine being below the established minimum of fifty zloties. The firm takes no notice of these fines and continues to break the law.

The inspectors of labour communicate cases of fines beginning with three zloties, while "fines" of fifteen zloties for a ten to twelve hour day are a mass phenomenon.

The judges know whom to punish, and how and for what offences.

The Revolt of the Workers

We now turn to the question of how the workers have reacted to this ruthless, organised, purposeful attack of capital.

Year	Strikes	Enterprises in which strikes occurred	Number of Strikers	No. of strike days	Per cent. of strike days
1923	1,263	7,451	849,051	6,378,680	100
1924	915	5,400	564,134	6,544,852	101
1st quarter	287	1,333	117,315	829,217	52
2nd quarter	209	1,077	107,692	1,523,184	96
3rd quarter	201	1,851	212,313	3,112,517	196
4th quarter	218	1,139	126,814	1,079,934	68
1925	532	1,910	148,527	1,284,552	20
1st quarter	110	670	45,543	306,275	19
2nd quarter	160	342	22,622	393,833	25
3rd quarter	164	322	51,105	499,829	31
4th quarter	98	576	29,257	84,616	5
1926	583	2,681	143,581	1,382,133	21
1st quarter	98	312	25,440	139,220	9
2nd quarter	152	514	39,424	244,880	15
3rd quarter	204	1,115	47,110	703,290	44
4th quarter	129		31,607	294,743	19
1927					
1st quarter	121	1,392	114,536	1,186,312	75

What is revealed by these statistics on the strike struggle?

We see that at the moment of capital's initiating its attack in the third quarter of 1924 a strong strike struggle was in being; during one quarter of the year alone there were 212,000 strikers, while the number of strike days exceeded three millions. This was a turning point in the struggle of the working class for its existence. In the last quarter of 1924 the struggle continues, but its intensity and dimensions are much less: the number of strikers is only 126,000 and there are not fourteen strike days to each striker, as in the previous quarter, but only eight.

In 1925 the intensity and dimensions of the struggle fall severely; the number of strike days is only 20 per cent. of that for 1924. In 1926 this feature continues.

If we consider the character of the strikes we see that in that very third quarter of 1924, 160,000 workers struck over questions "of hours and other conditions of labour"; in other words, they struck against the first attempts to introduce rationalisation. This struggle was shattered; after the liquidation of the great strike struggle in Upper Silesia (of the total of 3,112,000 strike days 2,523,000 fell to the portion of Upper Silesia), mass dismissals begin, especially of miners and factory workers.

The first, strongest opposition had been shattered. Rationalisation began to triumph.

In considering the results of strikes during this period one is struck by the percentage of unsuccessful strikes over "hours of labour and other conditions" (the wording is that of the Chief Statistical Bureau, and used in order to distinguish from demands for rises in wages), i.e., of strikes directed against rationalisation. It is incomparably higher than the percentage of unsuccessful strikes over the question of rises in wages.

While the percentage of unsuccessful strikes for rises in wages wavers between 60 and 68 per cent., the larger strikes, directed against a worsening of conditions of labour, were lost to the extent of 91 to 99 per cent. An exception has to be made for the third quarter of 1925, and for the struggle of more than 10,000 workers in the fourth quarter of 1925.

These figures tell us that the main attack of the industrialists was along the line of rationalisation, and that consequently the workers' activities in this sphere meet with the most ruthless and unyielding opposition of the industrialists.

In estimating the dimensions and intensity of the strike struggle during the past four years, we come to the conclusion that the opposition of the working class to the developing attack of the industrialists was not strong enough, did not embrace the whole working class in its entirety, was not organised as it should have been.

Capitalist Victory

After the capitalists had shattered the mighty opposition of the mining and factory workers of Upper Silesia in the middle of 1924, they put their plans into operation without meeting with any further serious strike struggle. Unquestionably the conditions in which the workers were compelled to undertake this struggle were very heavy, for there were a developing economic crisis, mass dismissals, and growing unemployment.

None the less the explanation of the weak opposition put up by the working class exclusively by objective conditions is inadequate, inasmuch as those objective conditions were in great degree pre-ordained by the consequential policy of the bourgeoisie.

Heavy objective conditions demand of the working class a more diligent preparation, better organisation, greater intensity of struggle, and also unity and a strong leadership in the struggle; but in no way do they justify capitulation and voluntary submission to the new yoke.

Consequently we have to seek the causes which led to the position in which at the moment when capital was developing a great attack the working class proved essentially to be disarmed and incapable of further resistance.

It is the direct task of the trade unions to lead the

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defence of the sacred interests of the working class. Consequently the central task of the trade unions in the period under discussion should have been the struggle against the attack on conditions of labour, and in particular the struggle against capitalist rationalisation.

The general staff of the trade unions is the Central Commission of Trade Unions. Consequently it is clear that the most important task of the Central Commission in the given period should have been the disclosure of the essential nature of rationalisation, and the mobilisation of the working class in the struggle with attacking capital.

Did the Central Commission accomplish its task, the task of the staff of the trade union movement?

During the last two years there has not been a single article on the process of rationalisation in the organ of the Central Commission: the "Workers' Economic Survey." In a whole series of articles on "principles" printed during this period there is not the slightest mention of such a detail as rationalisation. Even in such high-sounding documents as the "Declaration of the World of Labour," or "The Demands of the Working Class in the Sphere of Social Legislation," presented by the representatives of the Central Commission to the "Conference on problems of labour," there is not one word on rationalisation and its consequences for the working class.

The leaders of the trade unions have been occupied with quite other matters. For example, comrade A. Zdanovsky, the secretary of the Central Commission, in an article entitled "The immediate tasks of the trade unions," printed in the October, 1927 number of the "Workers' Economic Survey," writes:

"There can be no doubt that despite the temporary improvement in the economic situation, Polish industry is suffering to-day, exactly as it has always suffered, from an enormous excess of administrative expenses and the absence of an intelligent organisation of labour, and also in consequence of a number of other weaknesses. These organisational defects of Polish industry must be repaired; but before that they must be laid bare and exposed. And for this purpose the task of the trade unions in relation to the government at the present time must be to demand the introduction of the necessary public inquiry into production with the participation of the workers' trade unions."

Thus, in October and November, 1926, in the third year of rationalisation and the attack of capital, in face of the colossal achievements of the industrialists in the realm of exploitation of the workers and the doubling of the productivity of their labour, the secretary of the Central Commission is greatly disturbed. . . . And all this has to be the important task which the Central Commission sets the trade unions.

The trade union leaders are simultaneously the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party. Let us give ear to the manner in which the brother organ to the "Workers' Economic Survey," the "Robotnik" (Worker) the central organ of the Polish Socialist Party, makes propaganda for rationalisation.

"The demoralisation and laziness born of the war are swiftly passing. The chief slogan of the nations

who conduct the war, "everything for the war," is now replaced by the word "Work!"

"A race is taking place in the realm of labour!"

"At the head of the race are the Germans, Americans, British, French; Poland is somewhere in the rear. Why do we not occupy one of the first positions in these races? For there is so much work in Poland!"

"The Polish workers are capable and fond of work."

(Emphasised by the author of the article.) Then what does this tragic misunderstanding signify? I am forming the impression that only a few circles of Polish society are taking any account of the fact that we are living to-day in a period of "rivalry in the sphere of labour," and that in this fact consists the chief cause of our backwardness."

These two quotations are sufficient to show that the leaders of the trade union movement and the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party put forward not the working class viewpoint on rationalisation, but the viewpoint of the union of manufacturers, that through the pages of journals calling themselves workers' organs they are disseminating views hostile to the working class, and are predestined to disintegrate the working class from within and to make it incapable of struggle with the plans of capital.

Undoubtedly we stand on the threshold of a new stage in the workers' movement of Poland.

During four years the attacking and triumphant side has been the capitalists, while the workers' side has been on the defence, and on an inadequate defence at that.

A change is coming in that correlation of forces: the workers are beginning to defend themselves, to pass to the attack. We have already seen the first harbingers of this in the third quarter of 1926, when after the coup d'état followed a mass strike movement. The number of strike days in the third quarter is more than half the total number for all 1926.

But this intensified activity on the part of the working class was in direct connection with the May coup d'état and with the illusions evoked by that event. The illusions were bound to be shattered. A certain temporary decline in the strike wave was connected with this very process of dispelling illusions.

Enslaved to illusions, paralysed by the economic crisis, the energy of the masses is beginning to seek an outlet.

To this witnesses the first quarter of 1927, in which the number of strikers is 80 per cent. of the total of strikers during the whole of 1926, while the number of strike days is 86 per cent.

To this witnesses the course of the elections in the town municipal governments of Warsaw, Lodz, and dozens of other workers' centres.

"The masses are moving leftward"—the entire bourgeoisie and the compromisers' press are crying in one voice.

The masses are moving leftward. What does this signify? What prospects does this open out for the labour movement?

It signifies that the old tactical principle, "attack is the best defence," will be realised by the working class of Poland, and that to that class will belong the initiative in the approaching struggles.

The Practical Results of the Resolution on Organisation

Rudolf Kohn (*Prague*)

ALMOST two years have elapsed since the Second Organisation Conference of the E.C.C.I. took place. It is now necessary to examine in how far the resolution then adopted on the organisation and structure of Communist fractions has justified itself in practice, and whether any changes should be made. The complicated situation in Czecho-Slovakia has made it possible to put this resolution to the test in a practical manner. We must frankly admit that the resolution as a whole has proved correct, and should there be a fresh discussion there are only very slight alterations to be suggested.

In paragraph 1, which deals with the role of fractions in trade unions, the concluding sentence should be deleted in view of the present situation. This sentence advocates that the work of the Communist Party in trade unions should be carried on within the limits of the statutes and the decisions of the trade union in question. This provision often hampers the fighting capacity of the trade unions, and is not in accordance with the present policy for those countries that have split trade unions.

This is the only important deletion which we would propose. The instruction that fractions should conduct their own work and be under the control of the trade union sections is perfectly correct. It is also in order that the Communist members of the trade union executives should be regarded as the main fraction leaders. Still, the difficulties should not be overlooked which these regulations involve, not in order to change these regulations, but merely to indicate the manner in which these difficulties should be overcome.

Reliability of Members

It must be admitted that those comrades who are on the executive are not always the most reliable; they are often the greatest opponents of the Party trade union policy. But in spite of this the resolution is right to confide the leadership of fraction work to these comrades. There was the case in Czecho-Slovakia of Tetenka, the chairman of the Revolutionary Building Workers' Union, who, together with the Communist majority on the executive, regularly sabotaged all Party decisions. At that time the attempt had not been made to entrust Tetenka and his friends with the fraction leadership in the union. If we had done so and regularly given them definite tasks, then we should either have forced them systematically to adopt our policy or within a few months they would have been exposed and thus the sabotage of years would have been rendered impossible.

Now on the executive of the I.A.V. we have a Communist fraction as well as on the executives of its various sections, which also function as fraction executives. Since all the members of these executives are Communists the fraction executives are identical with the

trade union executives. This state of affairs causes great difficulties, and some of our comrades are of the opinion that the Party should delegate other comrades to these fraction executives in order to secure greater influence on them. We are opposed to any such mechanical solution of this question, and consider it essential that those comrades who are in charge of the trade unions should also continue to carry on the work of the fractions.

What is Necessary

Two things are essential to secure a favourable result, which unfortunately in our case leave much to be desired. These are strong Communist fractions in the lower trade union organs, which should exert strong pressure on the fraction executive and a trade union department at the Party headquarters capable of exercising control. It is absolutely necessary that a representative of the trade union department should attend every meeting of the fraction executive, and that this representative should have made a special study of the industry in question. But we are not able to do this, for we have only two comrades in the trade union department, and there are dozens of fraction executives. Therefore, the trade union department is represented on these executives by individual members of the Party Central Trade Union Commission, who fail to be effective because they are either over-burdened with other duties or at best function as members of the Commission and not as actual organs of the trade union department.

The second essential premise is also lacking in the revolutionary trade unions, for in these organisations fractions were not built up from below but from above. Hence the lower fractions are small in number and weak, and the fraction executives are hardly influenced by them. It, therefore, often happens that the fraction executive adopts an attitude directly opposed to that adopted by the Party. This state of affairs can only be avoided if the aforementioned shortcomings are removed. At present revolutionary trade unions do not possess the direct contact between fraction executives and fractions in lower organs which the resolution demands. The trade union departments are still forced to play the role of go-betweens, which can often have disastrous results. As an example of this take the situation last May Day when the slogan was issued that all tram workers should stop work in the big centres against the wishes of the government. In Prague and Reichenberg a stoppage took place, but in Bruenn the trams worked as usual. The reason for this was that the local trade union executive had received a radio report on the previous evening to the effect that in Prague the tram workers had decided to run the trams as usual. The Bruenn comrades said they tried to reach the trade union centre in Prague per

On Organisation—continued

telephone to make absolutely sure, but there was no one there. Such a thing can happen, but if there were direct contact between the central fraction executive of the tram workers and the fractions in the other towns it would have been possible to get information direct on the eve of May Day, and thus this misunderstanding would have been averted.

We already pointed out that Communist fractions in revolutionary trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia are formed from above and not from below, and that this error must be made good. In the reformist trade unions, however, fractions are built up from below, but there are not enough of them, and they are not organised sufficiently on a national scale. In these trade unions we have hardly any comrades on the central executives, and often no group at the centre, so that it is impossible to establish any fraction leadership at the centre. The national fraction executive is formed at a national conference from among the ranks of the most active comrades, and can only meet once every few weeks in Prague. The chairman is usually a comrade from the factory, who lives far away from the other comrades, and in the intervals between meetings finds it difficult to get in touch with the executive. Therefore, for the present we had no other choice but to delegate the work between the meetings of the executives in the reformist trade unions to the trade union department of the Party executive. This state of affairs is, however, not possible as a permanent arrangement. There is only one solution for this problem. The fraction executive in the revolutionary parallel organisation, which as it is holds joint meetings with the fraction executive of the said reformist trade unions, should be delegated to carry out the decisions arrived at in the intervals between the meetings.

There must be very close contact between the executives of the fractions of parallel organisations; the fraction executives of the revolutionary trade unions must in any case send all the decisions and circulars of the revolutionary trade unions to reformist parallel organisations in order to facilitate a proper co-ordination of activities. Therefore, the only additional step

to be taken is to entrust them from time to time with carrying out the decisions of the fraction executives in the reformist trade unions and to be responsible for same. Hitherto we have not been able to make this decision in the majority of cases. In the glass industry this method operates to a certain extent. Until some change is made in the national fraction executives of the revolutionary trade unions this task cannot be entrusted to them. As soon as we shall succeed in making the national fraction executives in these trade unions more reliable, by developing the Communist fractions in the lower organs of the revolutionary trade unions, then we shall consider it necessary to hand over to them the aforementioned work in the reformist trade unions. This scheme is not part of the resolution of the Second Organisation Conference, but in our opinion it is quite in accordance with the spirit of this resolution.

Therefore, on the whole we may state that the resolution of the Second Organisation Conference of the E.C.C.I. still holds good to-day, and need not undergo any essential changes. On this account it is necessary to do all in our power to carry out this resolution in all its details. In Czecho-Slovakia, as in all other countries, we are only making a beginning; the task of the moment is to concentrate all our energies on this work and its speedy realisation.

EDITORIAL NOTE

We publish this article in view of the great importance of the subject in connection with the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Trade Union Question and the Work of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern. We are not in agreement with certain statements in this article, especially with that demanding the deletion of the point in the resolution of the Second Organisation Conference dealing with Communist work in trade unions. We shall publish an article shortly on the basis of the international experience of the C.P. in trade union work dealing with the special tasks of the Communist Parties in trade union fraction work. Therefore, for this purpose we ask all the functionaries of all the sections of the Communist International to supply material on trade union work.



Nucleus Work in the Engelsberg^{*} Generating Station

A MODEL

Kneschke

IN Engelsberg there is a generating station belonging to the town of Reichenberg and some adjoining rural districts, which supplies the whole of North Bohemia with electric light and power. There are 89 workmen and four women employed, and all are organised by the Reichenberg Trade Union Commission (German reformists). The factory nucleus has a membership of 60 men and one woman, 66 per cent. of the workers; the factory committee is composed of seven Communists, one German social-democrat and two others. Last year it convened 14 plenary meetings, but when necessary the nucleus meets oftener. There are organisation, agitation, trade union and co-operative commissions, which work in collaboration with the nucleus committee. There are 70 members in the Red Aid, which is run by the R.A. Commission. The nucleus also has one worker correspondent and one publicity representative, and it has an actively working fraction at the Engelsberg centre of the International Metal Workers' Union.

The nucleus loses no time in adopting a definite attitude to all the Party struggles. All the nucleus members read the Party daily paper, and in addition members of the nucleus take five copies of the theoretical Party organ. The demonstration against the agrarian taxes, which was held in Reichenberg, was attended by all the workers from the generating station. Factory meetings were held and protest resolutions and telegrams sent to the Chamber of Deputies against this taxation and various government measures. There was a strike of a quarter of an hour proclaimed on the day of the burial of the victims of the Vienna July strike.

The workers also struck for ten minutes as a protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The nucleus is often obliged to deal with questions relating to the factory. For instance, about a year ago there was a big scandal. In building a power extension for the station the estimates were greatly exceeded. The nucleus was very helpful in clearing up this matter, and brought about the disclosure of corruption which was going on in the management of the works. The worker correspondent sent regular reports to the "Vorwaerts," the Agit-Prop. Commission issued a factory newspaper, the Nucleus Committee sent a permanent representative to the local Party fraction in the town of Reichenberg and also to the fraction in the executive and supervisory council of the Engelsberg electrical works. The Party influence on the management and also on the supervisory council of the enterprise was greatly increased at the general meeting of the generating station through the campaign which the Party had carried on in this matter.

After the affair had been exposed the management, which was mainly bourgeois, wanted to carry out rationalisation measures. Wages were to be cut and a quarter of the workers dismissed. But again the nuclei were on the job, and jointly with the fractions and the "Vorwaerts," prevented the threatened wage-cut and dismissal of the workers. At present the nucleus is busy agitating for wage increases.

^{*} In Czecho-Slovakia.

OUT TO=DAY

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Workers and the Trade Union Movement in Egypt

M. Mastri

THE estimated strength of the Egyptian proletariat is about 600,000, and of these there are only 15,000 organised in trade unions (the trade unions count a few extra thousand inactive members, who pay no subscriptions). But even this 15,000 is not a permanent figure, for the trade union membership vacillates, sometimes the figure is higher, sometimes lower.

The reasons for this position are: (1) Bad leadership of the trade unions (all the leaders are class-collaborators, who work in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the police); (2) the savage pressure brought to bear by the Government and employers on trade union members; (3) the trade unions do not fulfil their tasks but expel those workers who demand the class struggle. For instance, the tram workers in Heliopolis wanted to declare a strike, but the trade unions opposed the strike, and for this reason many workers left the union. After a few months a new trade union was organised, and the same story was repeated and the workers again left the union, because they saw that both the leaders of the old and the new unions did their work badly and constantly sold the workers.

The Government persecutes the workers' movement. The police keep a list of all trade union members, and from time to time persecute individual trade union members, hunt them away from their work and drive them into the villages or into the wilds of Egypt. Not very long ago 27 engine drivers were dismissed and banished to a place far from the railroad. Even the families of workers are exiled if they are suspected of Communist tendencies. The exile takes place without any reasons; it suffices if some spy or other sees the persons in question in the company of Communists. The police have their spies in every trade union, as well as in every enterprise and factory. The police buy over certain members of the trade union management, and every secretary and president of a trade union is obliged to give information to the police. R. Kantor, a Russian, is at the head of the espionage on the workers' movement.

Yet, in spite of this persecution the workers' movement in Egypt is advancing because the workers know only too well that their leaders are traitors and their enemies. They are now fighting the bourgeoisie and the traitors in the trade unions, and agitating to have these traitors cleared out. In August, 1927, the workers wanted to organise a Red Trade Union Conference, and had even secured the co-operation of four unions, when the police heard of it and broke up their meeting. When it became known that the Red Conference continued to exist in spite of this the police closed it down. The workers continued to work for the convention of a general conference of all trade unions. The presidents of the Egyptian unions convened a few meetings in the months of October and November of last year under

pressure brought to bear by the rank and file. But when they realised that they were faced with a serious situation, and that they were to be forced to convene a conference, then these trade union leaders took council with government representatives and agreed not to convene any conference. Afterwards they declared to the unions that the government would not permit the convention of a conference.

The following is a list of the trade unions that exist at present:

IN CAIRO		No. of members
1. Tramway workers	2,200	
2. Tramway workers in Pellopolis, near Cairo	400	
3. Hairdressers	150	
4. Chauffeurs and motor workers	700	
5. Doctors (not fully qualified)	120	
6. Printers	1,400	
7. Teachers	700	
8. Textile workers	2,000	
9. Railway workers	800	
10. Office workers	500	
11. Engineers	300	
12. Tobacco workers	400	
13. Gas workers and electricians	250	
14. Trade school graduates	130	
15. Cooks	690	
16. Artists	110	
17. Fez makers	140	
18. Sugar factory workers	400	
19. Narrow gauge railway workers	900	
20. Printers (newspaper)	100	
21. Cab-drivers	300	
22. Tailors	800	
23. Cabinetmakers	320	
IN ALEXANDRIA		
1. Tram workers	2,500	
2. Bus workers	540	
3. Textile workers	850	
4. Tradesmen	900	
5. Bank clerks	400	
6. Civil servants	750	
7. Dock workers	500	
8. Cab drivers	200	
9. Coffee-house employees	100	
10. Tailors	600	
11. Salt miners	300	
12. Printers	300	
13. Tobacco	450	
14. Water carriers	200	
IN PORT SAID		
1. Civil servants	150	
2. Dock workers	400	
3. Tradesmen	900	

(Continued on page 236.)

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T.U. Movement in Egypt—Continued

In addition to these unions there are about ten others in various towns with a membership of over 12,000.

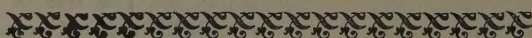
The position of Egyptian workers is bad, especially now, because there is great unemployment in the country. We do everything we can, but that is very little when compared with the immense tasks with which we are faced. The majority of trade unionists are inexperienced, and in addition to this, great terror prevails. We attempted to issue a workers' paper, but three of our papers were immediately closed down.

The Amsterdam International is doing its utmost to win over the Egyptian workers, and sends books, papers, leaflets and manifestoes to all the trade unions, and asks for reports and articles, but the Egyptian workers have little desire to link up with Amsterdam.

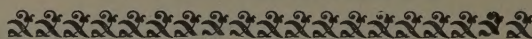
In spite of the police terror and the persecution of the national bourgeoisie, and the "guardians" of the working class in the ranks of the nationalists and Amsterdam camps, the Egyptian Labour movement is growing and becoming strong; it is quite certain that the Egyptian working class is adopting the correct revolutionary path.

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